Revised Edition

Confidential Section III

CONFERENCE ON CHURCH, COMMUNITY AND STATE

DRAFT REPORT ON

CHURCH, COMMUNITY AND STATE, IN RELATION TO THE ECONOMIC ORDER

NOTE

This draft has been prepared by the Chairman of the Section in the light of such consultation as circumstances permitted with advisers in different countries. Its purpose is to provide a basis for discussion when the Section meets. It is not to be taken as representing the views of the Conference, and does not commit the Conference in any way. The Conference is free to adopt, amend or reject the draft in any way that it pleases. For this reason the draft is a confidential document. No public reference must be made to its contents or quotations made from it. There is no objection to those who write about the Conference indicating in a general way and in their own words the kind of questions that are likely to engage the attention of the Conference.

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INTRODUCTION

1. This memorandum begins with an attempt to describe certain features of economic life which are not peculiar to any one economic system and with which those who seek economic change must reckon. It then indicates certain features of the existing economic life of many of the countries represented at the conference which offer a special challenge to the Christian conscience. There follows a consideration of several issues concerning which differences of emphasis and differences of conviction are commonly found among Christians. The attempt is then made to show the nature of the guidance for economic life which is provided by Christian faith. The final part of the report is a summary of the emphases in thought and of the next steps in practice which should be uppermost in the minds of those who are responsible for the teaching and policies of the Church during the next decade.

I. SOME FEATURES OF THE MODERN ECONOMIC ORDER [1]

2. The Economic Order is concerned with the social organisation by which mankind provides for the satisfaction of certain of their wants. Economics, as such, does not discuss the nature of the causation of those wants, but solely the means adopted to satisfy them.

3. There has been so widespread a misconception among non-economists, both as to what economics does and does not say, that it is perhaps worth while at the outset to state certain elementary propositions and to bring out their significance.

Basic Definitions

4. *Division of Labour.* Every developed economy, such as we are concerned with in the world to-day, is based on the division of labour, with its practical corollary—the use of money.

5. It is not claiming too much to say that the whole of modern technical progress, on which the material side of

[1] The first section borrows largely from Claude Guillebaud's paper which is separately circulated to members of the section of the Conference on the Economic Order.

Western civilisation has been built up in the last hundred years, has only been made possible by the extensive use of specialisation and the division of labour. There is no possibility of going back now to the earlier system of direct production for use, so far as the great majority of things is concerned. Whatever the type of economic order may be, the division of labour is bound to be its outstanding technical feature and its operation must be largely conditioned by this fact.

6. Some essentials of the wage system—of the subordination of the majority to the direction and authority of the few—are a necessary concomitant of all large scale production based on the division of labour. Without order and discipline no economic organisation can function properly, and whether the direct employer of a worker is a managing director responsible ultimately to a body of shareholders or a managing director responsible ultimately to the State, the status of the worker in either case is *liable* to be in many respects the same. He must do what he is told, make his minute contribution to what is usually a link in a long chain of processes, and receive a wage which represents a share in the sum total of the national income. In both cases it may be equally true that his own part in determining the size of the national dividend, on which the real value of his wage depends, must appear to him to be almost non-existent or at most infinitesimally small. In the *early* days of a communist (or even perhaps a fascist) regime it may be possible by intensive mass propaganda to overcome this feeling of the insignificance of the individual worker's contribution to the collective effort, but the longer it lasts the more probable it is that the effects of this propaganda will wear off, and that the individual reaction, to what is, in some aspects, a form of mass hysteria, will weaken. We have been living through the "heroic age" of fascism and bolshevism; we have still to experience the long run effects when the regime has settled down, and when it is no longer possible to whip up the enthusiasm of supporters by appeals to dangers from enemies inside or outside the regime.

7. *The functions of money in the economic system.* It is a commonplace of economics that no society whose economic life is built up on the division of labour and free exchange can function efficiently without the aid of money, at least as a "unit of account" (or standard of value) and as a store of value. It would be possible, though inconvenient, to have no tangible substance entitled money circulating from hand to hand as a means of purchasing; but it would not be possible for a developed economy to do without a unit of account in

terms of which relative values could be established, or without a store of generalised purchasing power for use in enabling expenditure and receipts to be balanced over a period of time and to provide a reserve against contingencies.

8. But this value, which money is said to measure, is not " absolute " value, for that is an ethical and philosophical concept. Money can only measure relative value—the power of a thing to be given in exchange for other things. The price of a thing, or its value expressed in money, establishes its relative standing in the order of things which have value in exchange within a monetary economy. It cannot measure subjective value to the different individuals who make up the market, for this depends partly upon the individual's utility schedule (the relation between quantity consumed and its utility to him) and partly upon the size of his money income.

9. Once money is firmly established in this position as a standard of relative value, many of the features of the economic system, which strike the Christian as most regrettable, *seem* naturally to arise. The monetary calculus *tends* to become predominant; the ultimate realities of production and distribution are veiled behind the cloak of money; and *auri sacra fames* assumes its sway.

10. Money has a further important function in regard to consumption. It is money which enables people to maximise the utility derived from the spending of their incomes. This would be achieved by an individual if there were no gain in utility from his spending more in any one direction and less in any other. Put in technical terms, the total utility of a given income will be maximised when the marginal utility of income spent in every direction is equal. It can readily be seen that unless income is initially in the form of money (generalised purchasing power) it is most unlikely that this theoretical ideal will be realised.

11. The term utility has here been used in its strict economic sense, in which it is devoid of any ethical connotation and merely signifies " desiredness." Why people should want some things more than others, and the nature and causation of the scale of real values that lie behind and determine wants, are problems which are not at the moment under discussion.

12. Irrespective of the motives which govern wants, the general principle, that mankind will always seek to maximise the utility of real income, holds good under every economic or social system; just as the principle of diminishing utility—

that the more a man has of any particular thing, the less, *caeteris paribus*, he will desire additional quantities of it—is generally valid.

Psychological Factors

13. Further mention must be made of three very important psychological factors which are liable to exert their influence in every form of social order, producing results which are often as undesired as they are unexpected by those who hope to benefit mankind by changing the nature of his political, social or economic institutions. These psychological factors are : The desire for social distinction and recognition, the desire for power; the desire for security and comfort.

14. The desire for social recognition would be a most potent force for good if the qualities and achievements which the community esteemed and rewarded were those which redounded to its aggregate benefit. It is probably true to say that there is at least a *tendency* for this to prevail in any existing society, but always with so large a time lag that the qualities admired to-day represent social virtues which were important in the past—in some cases, even, in the remote past. The desire for power seems always to be with us; it is deep-rooted in the human breast and cannot *apparently* be eradicated by any alteration of social institutions. The desire for security seems also likely to be operative under any form of social organisation, though its results in a socialist or communist society would take different forms from those which are characteristic of its results under capitalism.

15. Summing up this part of the argument, it has been shown that there are a number of principles and objective facts which obtain within the economic order, and which apparently cannot be conjured out of existence by any changes of structure.

16. Failure to appreciate the significance of these underlying conditioning factors would lead to a serious mis-direction of criticism. The impersonality of the economic system, when the machine, and the organisation which controls the machine, dominate the life of the individual; the small scope for the exercise of the creative faculty in work and the consequent divorce of most work from pleasure ; the soullessness of the money measure in terms of which all preferences in the economic sphere must be expressed ; the influence of the desire for distinction, for power and for security—these and many others like them represent problems and difficulties which are likely to be as real under socialism, for example, as under private capitalism.

It is not suggested that these problems are necessarily insoluble, but it is important to realise that they seem, under modern conditions, to be independent of the economic order as such.

The Complexity of Economic Systems

17. There is to-day no *one* economic order which ecumenical Christianity faces. The Government of the U.S.S.R., for example, exercises jurisdiction over one-sixth of all the land surface of the globe, on which there lives one-twelfth of the world's population, including (it has been estimated) one-fifth of the population of the industrialised world. The economic and social structure of this huge territory is fundamentally different from that prevailing elsewhere. Again, National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy have evolved economic systems each of which differs in important respects from those of other so-called capitalist countries. And between the types of capitalism which are evolving in democratic states—the Scandinavian countries, France, the United States, Great Britain, etc.—there are also differences of a highly important kind. The amount, for instance, of social and industrial legislation which has been passed in Great Britain, and the extent to which Trade Unions have for many years been recognised there, make the economic system of that country very different from that found in the United States. For the purpose of this conference it seems wise to concentrate attention on what can broadly be described as the capitalist economic system, though it must always be borne in mind, not only that this phrase is liable to be dangerously misleading, but also that a large part of the world lies outside its ambit.

Tendencies in Contemporary Capitalism

18. Underlying most of the economic developments in the contemporary world are two factors which are closely related: the rapid *technological changes* which have made possible both mass production and ease of communication and the vast *increase of the world's population* within the past century. These two developments have increased the urgency and magnitude of all social problems. They create both the possibility of a higher standard of living for all and the possibility of peculiarly poignant forms of poverty and insecurity when the economic machine is out of balance. They make possible the centralization of economic and political power which contains new threats to human liberty. They create an interdependent

world in which almost all problems are world problems and almost all conflicts are on the point of becoming world conflicts. The shifting of populations in the mass and the herding of them into great centres have broken down the stabilizing disciplines and traditions which in the past have done much to provide social cohesion and to nourish the religious and moral life. The increase in the size of industrial units has made most industrial relationships impersonal. Also, the growth of mass movements controlled by Nationalist or Marxist ideologies, in the struggle for a more adequate adjustment of the economic order to human needs, has created what may be interpreted from varying points of view as a threat or as a promise to civilised life. Many of these developments which we have described in this paragraph are in themselves neither good nor bad, but they seriously enhance the acuteness of the economic problem.

19. In the evolution of this capitalist economic system, the following tendencies seem specially important. They take different forms, and at the present time have reached different stages, in the various countries under consideration; nor is their relative importance to one another the same in any two parts of the world. Nevertheless they can perhaps be described as generally operative in the capitalist countries.

20. (1) The scale of industrial and commercial organisations is continually becoming larger, and monopolistic practices tend to be increasingly characteristic of economic activity. The control of monopoly accordingly becomes more and more important a social problem.

21. (2) Industrial fluctuations tend to be increasingly severe and large-scale unemployment correspondingly common. Control of the trade cycle becomes in consequence an increasingly important problem. Insecurity of employment is the lot of a large proportion of workers even in " good times."

22. (3) Partly as a result of these tendencies, the national State participates increasingly in economic life. As illustrations of this participation may be noted:

23. (*a*) The provision, through the machinery of central or local government, of social services, which are designed not only to *prevent* the citizens from encountering misfortunes such as disease or destitution and to assist in *rescuing* them when preventive measures have failed, but also to *provide* for their welfare by various methods, such as education, public libraries and other recreational facilities.

24. (*b*) The provision, through the same or similar state machinery, of economic services, such as transport, postal and other methods of communication, electricity and gas.

25. (*c*) Apart from direct provision of services, the State tends also to intervene, without superseding private enterprise, at various points in the economic field. Sometimes the main purpose of this intervention is to assist or protect the employee, sometimes to encourage the employer, and sometimes to give special help to particular industries. In some countries legislation of many different kinds has been passed affecting conditions and hours of work, laying down minimum wage-rates, establishing systems of unemployment insurance, etc., which exercises an increasingly powerful influence in preventing the evils of sweating and in supporting the standard of living of those in employment. State recognition of trade unions and the establishment of official machinery for consulting the representatives of organised labour are other factors of great importance in this connection. In some countries this movement has only recently begun, in others it has been reversed or replaced by the machinery of the totalitarian State; but the tendency towards it, in one form or another, seems to be generally characteristic of modern capitalist society.

26. (*d*) There is the growth of "economic nationalism," in various forms and in differing degrees of thoroughness, in many parts of the world. This implies the raising of barriers to international exchange and a curtailment of the flow of imports and exports between countries. A limitation is thus placed, from a world point of view, on man's material standard of living, though from a national point of view there may be consequences, in the short run, of an opposite kind. Further, economic nationalism is clearly one of the more important causes of international tension and war. On the other hand it can be (and is in fact) regarded as in some circumstances a necessary transitional stage, and even as marking progress in the direction of more efficient planning of national life, and therefore potentially constructive from a social point of view.

27. (4) A special problem is created by this increasing participation of the state in economic and social life: how can the potential advantages of subjecting economic activity to social control be realised in practice without depriving men and women of liberty in other departments of life ?

28. (5) As a means of financing a large part of the social services provided by the state, the rich have had to pay direct taxation at high rates. This taxation has tended to result in

a transfer of income from the richer to the poorer members of society; in Great Britain, for example, death duties in particular are lessening the extremes of inequality in the distribution of wealth.

29. For this and other reasons, property is (relatively speaking) more widely distributed among the mass of the people, in certain countries at any rate, than it was in the nineteenth century. The modern community, as we observe it (for example) in Great Britain, differs significantly from the Marxian conception of the capitalist State. In place of the simple division of society into two classes—the proletariat with no source of wealth outside their own labour power, on the one side, and a small class of rich property owners on the other, there is now a different picture. We find a highly complex social structure, with a large number of classes, and a gradation of property owners, extending far down the social scale into quite poor strata of the community. A good deal of this is quite recent. The growth, for example, of the distributive trades (by now much the largest industry in the country) has been accompanied by a great increase in the number of small capitalists working on their own or only employing two or three others; and this section of the community (which in Germany has been the backbone of the National Socialist movement) is a long way from possessing the outlook of the industrial artisan or labourer. There has grown up an enormous middle class which makes the present social and economic structure quite unlike anything which existed when Marx wrote his "Capital," or when Disraeli could speak of the Two Nations into which the England of his day was divided—quite unlike, again, the pre-war Russia, which (by comparison) has afforded a fairly simple problem to the bolshevik administrators.

30. In spite, however, of the factors mentioned above, class distinctions and gross inequalities of wealth and opportunity continue to exist in all the countries here under consideration. For a large minority which is not composed entirely of the same persons continuously, there has probably been no rise in the standard of living; and for very large groups existence is still barely above the level of starvation. Again, differences of wealth are still the cause of very serious inequalities of opportunity among members of the younger generation.

31. (6) To conclude this part of the analysis: (*a*) taking the economic system as it is to-day, in the midst of an evolutionary process, it seems clear that the trend, though varying consider-

ably from country to country, is towards an increase in the volume of social services of all kinds, only limited by the availability of taxable wealth.

(*b*) The method of progressive direct taxation as a means of redistributing wealth and income and of diminishing inequality has by no means reached its limit, as can be seen from the example of Sweden to-day.

32. (*c*) Further, the volume of legislative interference with industry in recent years has been large (though on very different scales in the various countries), and shows no signs of abating. There is comparatively little left to-day of the old laissez faire attitude of the nineteenth century; and there are clear signs that the State will be bound to intervene still more in future, in order to restrain and control, and in some cases to take over, many of the great monopolistic organisations which have grown up in recent times.

33. In the near future there are two main forces which are likely to intensify State interference and control of industry. These are: the problem of the control of monopoly, and the problem of the control of the trade cycle.

II. POINTS AT WHICH THE CHRISTIAN UNDERSTANDING OF LIFE IS CHALLENGED

34. We consider that it is pre-eminently in four respects that the Christian faith is challenged by the results of the present economic order as it exists to-day in the industrialised parts of the world. It will be remembered that the territory of the U.S.S.R. is not under consideration here.

(1) Inequalities

35. In consequence of the large disparities of income which still characterise society, men and women are very unequally provided with opportunities for living a free life and developing their potentialities of body, mind and character. We do not contend that Christians should claim that all men are equal in capacity or that Christians should necessarily advocate equality of income for all, but we do hold that it is intolerable from a Christian point of view that as a result of inequalities of income large sections of the community are denied the necessary conditions for health and opportunity which are taken

for granted by the comfortable classes in the community. In the case of children in particular such inequalities mean that society places obstacles in the way of their moral and spiritual development.

36. One form of inequality which must be emphasised is inequality in relation to the insecurities of life. In many parts of the world it would be possible to divide the population between those, on the one hand, who are shielded by the possession of property in one form or another against the preventible misfortunes of life and those, on the other, who are liable to be reduced to desperate poverty by continued unemployment or ill health.

37. Another aspect of the present inequality of opportunity which is particularly disastrous is the existence of class distinctions on an economic basis. These distinctions present a serious obstacle to human fellowship, breeding bitterness on one side and pride on the other, and leading to class conflict and even class war. Even where the lines of class division are not rigid this aspect of inequality appears. (See Professor Tawney's paper.)

(2) The Enhancement of Acquisitiveness

38. It is important to make a distinction between private enterprise, as a mechanism by which goods are produced and distributed, and the spirit of acquisitiveness. There is no doubt that at the present time the economic system does in the most disastrous way encourage and develop in people this spirit of acquisitiveness. It is an open question how far under proper checks and controls it would be possible to have a mixed economic system with a good deal of private enterprise (and hence the profit mechanism) in the organisation of industry without any greater enhancement of acquisitiveness than might be the case (in disguised forms) in some other system. But however that may be, it is no excuse for not showing up in its full ugliness the spirit which has been developed by the modern economic system in an extreme form.

39. It is not maintained that acquisitiveness is something new which results only from the present economic system or that a change of the system would remove it. We merely stress the fact that human character is, in large part, moulded by the habits and attitudes which the social institutions which are dominant at a given time encourage. When men are directly concerned during the whole of their working day with the

pursuit of profit (and only incidentally, if at all, with considerations of public welfare) something is done to their characters which it is exceedingly difficult for Christian influences to counteract and which in fact those influences do not counteract on a wide scale.

40. When a society gives highest honour to those who have most wealth, it is almost certain that the scale of values in that society will be perverted. Moreover when great inequalities of wealth are possible it is the natural thing for men to prize that which most obviously sets them apart from others, and hence in such a society wealth is the symbol of success. There can be no compromise between the Church of Christ and the idolatry of wealth which has become so widespread in western civilisation.

(3) Irresponsibility

41. In many countries represented at the Conference the tendency is for economic power to be concentrated in the hands of a small minority of persons who are not responsible to society as a whole. There may be some question as to whether the concentration of such power in the hands of private owners and their representatives is necessarily more undesirable than the concentration of economic power in the hands of those who control the State. But at any rate it can be said that in those countries in which there is an effective check through free elections and free minority criticism, political power tends to be less irresponsible than the economic power which exists in virtue of the ownership or control of corporate property or financial institutions. Where there are no strong organisations of workers or farmers or consumers which can to some degree balance the power of the owners of industry, there is tyrannical control over the lives and opportunities of large masses of people by those on whom those people depend for employment and security. In times of acute unemployment and insecurity this helpless dependence of the masses upon the few is greatly increased. Also, it must be noted that there is a general tendency for those who have the greatest economic power to have a disproportionate influence over the agencies of government, the press and other opinion-forming institutions—not excluding the Church.

42. There is a quite different kind of irresponsibility which comes from the fact that persons who are involved in industrial life, as employers or as employees, are generally subject to what seem to them to be the laws of a system which is only partially

subject to individual or social control. This is to some degree inevitable in any economic system, but the attitude of irresponsibility which is in some areas dictated by inevitable circumstances easily infects the whole of any individual's behaviour in relation to the economic order. In this way men become puppets rather than persons in large areas of their lives. One particular form of irresponsibility (among many others) arises from the fact that large numbers of property owners (e.g. shareholders in industrial or commercial concerns, and owners of real estate) have little means of knowing the social results of the use of their property, and therefore feel that they have no moral responsibilities in that connection.

(4) The Denial of Christian Vocation

43. A profound conflict has arisen between the demand (on the one hand) that the Christian should be doing the will of God in his daily work, and (on the other hand) the actual kinds of work which Christians find themselves forced to do within the economic order. Many people, under conditions of unemployment, have no work at all. This does not mean that it is impossible for them to find useful and significant occupation, but as a matter of actual experience it does put a serious obstacle in the way of their finding such occupation. As regards those who have employment, there is the fact that most of them are *directly* conscious of working for the profit of the employer (and for the sake of their wages) and only *indirectly* conscious of working for any public good; while this fact may in some cases be only part of the mechanism by which the work is done for the public good, the difficulty in part remains. Again, there is the fact that at present many workers must produce things which are useless or shoddy or destructive. Finally, one other form of work which needs to be emphasised because it is in conflict with the Christian's vocation is salesmanship of a kind which involves deception—the deception which may be no more than insinuation and exaggeration, but which is a serious threat to the integrity of the worker.

44. This denial of the Christian's vocation in economic life finds a close parallel in the sense of the meaninglessness of work which these same factors tend to produce in the minds of all workers whether or not they attempt to relate their lives to Christian faith.

* * * *

45. Before proceeding to the next section of this memorandum, attention should be called to the potentialities for good in the economic order. Situations vary in different parts of the world but in many countries it already seems possible, through the full utilisation of the resources of the new technology and through the release of human productive power, to remove the kind of poverty which is crippling to human personality. There is a sense in which poverty is a relative matter and hence in any situation would be present in some form but we are thinking of the poverty which would be regarded in any age as denying the physical necessities of life. The abolition of such poverty would depend on the human organisation of economic life (in relation to the trade cycle, for example) and not on factors given in nature or on what might be called the inevitable constitution of every economic order. This prospect of abolishing the worst poverty should not be confused with what is often called " utopianism "; for though such abolition would be important in removing external obstacles to the development of human life, the essential human problem would still remain. But the possibility of economic " plenty " has this moral importance, that to an increasing extent it makes the persistence of poverty a matter for which men are morally responsible. This possibility marks off our time from the period of the New Testament and from other periods in which Christian thinking about economic life has been formulated. In the light of it the direction of Christian effort in relation to the economic order should henceforth be turned from charitable paternalism to the realisation of more equal justice in the distribution of wealth. Christians who live in the more privileged geographical areas must recognise that the securing of economic " plenty " and greater justice in its distribution still leaves them responsible for those areas where for generations to come there will doubtless be desperate economic need.

III. AREAS WHERE CHRISTIANS DIFFER

46. Before we proceed to consider the ways in which Christians should deal with the challenges to the Christian understanding of life which were outlined in the last section we shall consider some of the differences in emphasis or in conviction which condition common thought and action.

(a) INTERPRETATIONS OF CHRISTIAN FAITH

47. In ecumenical discussions we often find insistence on certain aspects of Christian truth which appear to be in mutual conflict though in fact neither can be surrendered without sacrificing something which is essential to the Christian faith as a whole. Any one of the contrasted attitudes may be so emphasised that it represents a real perversion of Christianity. When that is the case there appear for the time to be differences among Christians which cannot be bridged. Further progress in ecumenical co-operation depends upon a clear grasp of the truth in both sides of the following contrasted emphases.

Ethic and Gospel

48. The first of these pairs of contrasted emphases has to do with the relationship between the Christian ethic and the Gospel. One the one hand are those who insist that it is the essence of Christianity that it is a Gospel and not a new law. The essential task of the Church is to proclaim to men the revelation of reality and not merely make demands upon them in terms of an ideal. Christianity has to do with the *given.* Those who are aware that the heart is taken out of Christianity when it is transformed into a code of morals are on the alert to guard against all tendencies to mere moralism. They know that legalism with its inevitable tendency to Pharisarism misses altogether the fundamental Christian insights. They see that the Christian ethic is not a legalistic but a creative ethic.

49. There are those on the other hand who insist with equal reason that the Christian understanding of life resulting from the revelation of reality has of necessity ethical implications. Faith is inseparable from obedience and obedience is expressed in action. The Christian understanding of life cannot but transform a man's whole outlook and his whole behaviour. It must affect his conduct in the economic sphere. He has to take his part in the maintenance and improvement of the systems of law and justice by which a society which is not yet Christian is held together and upon which essential aspects of human welfare depend. If Christians are to act effectively in economic life they must have certain defined ends which they choose in obedience to the will of God as they understand it. They must not lose sight of the relative character of these ends, but without them they cannot act effectively at all.

This-worldly and Other-worldly Emphases

50. The second contrast is between other-worldly and this-worldly ends of man's existence. The Christian gospel is essentially paradoxical. It is other-worldly, and concerned with the transcendant God: "the High and Lofty One, Who inhabiteth eternity, Whose Name is Holy, the Everlasting God." At the same time it is concerned with this world and with "the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, the Living God." This we recognise in every part of our worship: "Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of Hosts, *Heaven and Earth* are full of Thy Glory. Glory be to Thee, O Lord Most High," And again: "Our Father, Which art in Heaven, give us this day our daily bread. Thy Kingdom come, Thy Will be done *on Earth as it is in Heaven.*" Throughout the New Testament the material basis of life is recognised, and it is made clear that the fullness of life which Christ came to give to the sons of God includes the development of the whole man, body, soul and spirit. There are therefore two dangers in particular which the Church must avoid: on the one hand, the danger of making itself remote from the world and seeming not to be concerned with evil or with the various manifestations of evil which appear as injustice in the economic and social systems of the world; and, on the other hand, the danger of becoming earth-bound and seeming to believe in the possibility of establishing *some* economic system in which Christian love could be fully realised and all men, simply in consequence of the system, would fulfil their function as sons of God. Man cannot live by bread alone, but man cannot live without bread.

The Personal and the Institutional

51. The third contrast which needs to be continually in our minds is that between the personal and the institutional. There can be no doubt that the full Christian meaning of life is realised only in the relation of man as a responsible being to God and to his neighbour. The fundamental interest of the Church is in the changing of persons. Jesus Himself laid down the principle, "make the tree good." A good tree will bear good fruit. To have a better society it is necessary to have better human beings.

52. It is wholly unrealistic, on the other hand, to be blind or indifferent to the effects of institutions on human character. Not only is it true that they are the product to a large extent of the actions and decisions of individuals, but also it is true that they mould the outlook and impulses of individuals. To a

large extent they create the moral climate in which individuals in their impressionable years are developed. They set limits to the choices of individuals. The well intentioned employer, for example, may be quite unable to pay a living wage and compete with less scrupulous employers. When this is the case, the attempt must be made by some form of social action to raise the level of possibilities for the individual employer.

53. It must also be recognised that important as it is to change the characters and motives of individuals it is not enough to bring about a conversion of men merely as individuals and to make them good in intentions only. It is also important that they become the kind of persons who understand the world in which they live, who see beyond the prejudices and blind spots of their group, who are critical of the institutions through which they must work, and who realise that not merely individual action but organised political and social action is necessary in changing the life of society.

(b) ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONVICTIONS

54. We choose one major issue of an economic and political character on which Christians differ. The issue can be put in the form of the following question: *Can the challenges to Christian faith outlined in section two be met successfully within the framework of the system of private enterprise, or do they demand the substitution for that system of one which is based primarily upon the social ownership of the means of production?*

55. On this question we are divided. The preparatory work for the Oxford Conference has revealed clearly that Christians who are equally concerned about social justice, who would agree about the evil results of our existing economic behaviour, and who are equally informed concerning the facts, give different answers to this question. (Though they were not written to bring out this contrast there are suggestions of two different emphases in answering this question in the papers by Tawney and Guillebaud.) We can only indicate briefly some arguments on this question which are given on either side and certain conclusions concerning the issue on which Christians may be expected to agree. The details of these arguments clearly depend on the concrete situation which is faced in each country. As here presented in generalised form they may not be suitable for the report of the section but they are included here as background for the discussion in order to show clearly the nature of the issues involved and

the reasons for believing that it is not a question on which Christians as Christians can pronounce.

The Arguments for the Change of the System

56. (*a*) The existing evils about which there can be no dispute are so widespread as results of the present system that the presumption is in favour of the conclusion that they are inherent characteristics of the system.

57. (*b*) It is in principle intolerable that the chief sources of the wealth of a community should be owned and controlled by private individuals. Such private ownership is in itself a vast usurpation of power.

58. (*c*) All the attempts to increase the control of the state over economic life either to curb the power of monopolies or to deal with the problems of the trade cycle must be frustrated by the fact that the state is fundamentally controlled by those who have most power in the economic system as it is and will be used by them in their own interests.

59. (*d*) The tendencies towards monopoly and rigidity have eliminated the advantages which theoretically belong to a system which is controlled by the operation of a free market. It is therefore illegitimate to use as a defence of the system of private enterprise as it now exists the arguments which are valid only for a self-regulating, competitive system.

60. (*e*) The motive of private profit which is encouraged by the system of private enterprise develops the more anti-social side of human nature. Since this motive is inseparable from the mechanism of private enterprise that mechanism stands condemned.

61. (*f*) It is not possible to reform the capitalist system in the ways which are necessary if it is to be socially tolerable or if it is to be economically workable. The tendency towards ever more serious depressions cannot be overcome in time to prevent the social convulsions out of which some form of communism or fascism might come in the countries which are now democratic. Moreover the classes now in power will not yield in time to prevent such a result. This situation means that only a frontal attack now upon the capitalistic system can prevent a drift which would lead to anarchy or tyranny.

The Arguments for Working on the Basis of Reforms within the Present System

62. (*a*) The arguments for the socialisation of industry are based upon an oversimplification of the facts concerning the existing order. The present system is already a mixed system and there is no reason at this stage to set definite limits to the possibility of reforms which would carry still further already existing tendencies towards greater equality of income and towards a balance of power between classes. Further, the state is not necessarily the mere tool of the capitalist class; in some countries labour organisations already have great power within the state.

63. (*b*) It is premature to say that the trade cycle the intensification of which seems to be the chief mark of what is called " capitalist decline " is beyond control. It must be admitted that if it does prove to be beyond control, further and more drastic experiment with the socialisation of industry will be justified.

64. (*c*) The assumption that the privileged classes will not yield power and privilege soon enough to make possible reforms under the present system is also premature. The evidence points both ways but there is an impressive amount of evidence as, for example, in the whole development of the forms of taxation which are in fact forms of expropriation that such yielding is not impossible.

65. (*d*) The expectation that a change of the system will in fact make as much difference as is assumed by those who advocate the more drastic course is at least seriously open to question. Even after such a change there will still be the necessity of using the profit incentive in the form of wage differentials, for example; and there will still be a vast amount of drudgery which will be at least subjectively meaningless.

66. (*e*) Another system might well have the following positively evil consequences which tend to be ignored by those who trust in it: lack of able enough planners to plan on so vast a scale, lack of incentive and hence less production, irresponsible bureaucracy on the part of those who take no risk, the threat to spiritual liberty which arises from a centralized state.

67. (*f*) The argument that it is wrong in principle that there should be private ownership of the means of production does apply to large parts of the present order but it depends for its validity upon the degree to which such ownership is

concentrated and upon the particular rights and duties which go with ownership in a concrete situation.

Common Affirmations

68. (*a*) No social system is sacred. Christians should be neither last ditch defenders of capitalism, nor such dogmatic or utopian socialists that they are blind to the real problems which would still remain in a socialist society.

69. (*b*) If the present system is to survive it must be so changed that its social results will bear little resemblance to the social results of contemporary capitalism described in section two. In the existing situation even those who believe that a system of private enterprise is probably accompanied by greater advantages than any other system should work for the necessary reforms far more than for the maintenance of any system. If it should prove to be true that those reforms are impossible under capitalism their minds should be quite open to the necessity for more drastic change.

70. (*c*) It should be one of the aims of those who interpret the meaning of Christianity to undermine as far as possible that resistence to economic change on the part of people within the Church which is chiefly the result of the desire to maintain existing privileges and power. Such undermining of resistence to change will be of vast importance whether or not it proves to be possible to effect the necessary reforms within the framework of the present system. It is not maintained that either type of change can be brought about without economic and political pressure from those who are in large part victims of the present order, but the degree to which blind and selfish resistence to change can be undermined within the classes with which the Church has most contact may be the measure of the peacefulness of the process of change and of the stability of the results.

IV. POSITIVE GUIDANCE FROM CHRISTIAN FAITH FOR ECONOMIC LIFE

71. We have stated in section two the points at which there is a conflict between the present economic order and the Christian understanding of life. If this conflict is real it places upon the Christian the obligation to seek to effect profound changes in the economic order. It cannot be too

much stressed that the task is chiefly a task for laymen who have direct responsibility as voters and moulders of public opinion and as participants in industry, agriculture and commerce. They must in their daily lives of political and economic decisions face such choices as that which is outlined in the last section in regard to the necessity of changing the economic system. They must decide what line of action to take in relation to the innumerable conflicts between social groups, between employers and organised workers, between organised workers and unorganised workers, between agriculture and industry, between the policies of any specific group and the demands for public order. No one who is outside these conflicts can lay down hard and fast rules for Christian conduct within them. Also, the Christian must face all manner of decisions of the most difficult sort as an investor and as a consumer. He must decide (for example) by what standard of living it is right for him to live in view of what is possible for other people. Christian individuals must make these decisions. In many cases such decisions confront not only the laymen but also the clergy as citizens and owners of property and the organised Church as an employer and investor.

72. But it is not enough to say that these problems are chiefly the responsibility of laymen or Christian lay groups and leave the matter there. The further question must be raised: *What guidance can those who must make these decisions in the economic order receive from their Christian faith?* That question places great responsibility upon those in the Church who have the task of interpreting the meaning of Christian faith. In this work of interpretation the clergy should have a specially important contribution to make, but that contribution must be made with understanding of the experience of laymen. It is important that whenever this Christian guidance is crystallised by the reports and pronouncements of official Church bodies or of such a conference as the Oxford Conference laymen should share with the clergy this task of formulation. These laymen should come from various economic groups. This section of the report will be an attempt to formulate the kind of guidance which it is now possible to receive from Christian faith for economic life. We are here dealing directly with what the teaching of the Church as a Church should be concerning the economic order.

73. We must begin by recognising that there are some factors in economic life which are more clearly within the province of the Church and concerning which more light can be gained from the Christian message than others, and that there are many matters of judgment in particular situations which

must be left entirely to experts and to those who have direct responsibility in those situations. In the preparatory work for the Oxford Conference several economists have made the suggestion that ends and means should be distinguished and that the Church as the source of specifically Christian teaching should be concerned with ends and not with means. This distinction is useful if not pressed too far, but it can be very misleading. Most ends are from some perspective also means, and means are often provisional ends. Moreover, means are often destructive in their consequences and quite obviously should not escape moral criticism. But many of those who make the distinction between ends and means wish to emphasise a truth which seems to us of very great importance: the truth that if Christians in their hearts truly desired just ends—if (for instance) they truly sought a world in which they themselves would not have exclusive privileges—the technical problems of means would not be beyond solution. (This position is clearly stated in Professor Tawney's paper.)

74. Recognising, then, the importance of attempting to mark out as clearly as possible the precise areas within which the Christian can expect to receive light from the Christian faith and within which the teaching of the Church as Church in regard to economic life should be carried on we proceed to suggest five such areas. In presenting these areas we are suggesting what might be the framework of the Christian message in relation to the economic order in the next decade.

Areas of Christian Teaching

75. (*a*) *Christian teaching should deal with ends, in the sense of long range goals, standards, and principles in the light of which every immediate programme and every concrete situation must be tested.* It is in the light of such ends and principles that the four characteristics of the existing economic order discussed in section two stand out as challenges to the Christian Church. There are differences in theory concerning the way in which these ends are related to the Christian faith. The basis for these differences is suggested in paragraphs 48-49. Some would be very careful not to call these ends *Christian* ends and yet they would recognise that they are ends which *Christians* should seek in obedience to God.

76. We suggest (merely as examples) the following ends or principles as applicable to the testing of an economic situation: Every member of the community should have a minimum subsistence bearing a fair relation to the average wealth of

the community. In so far as the potential resources of the community allow, every child should have the opportunity for education suitable for the development of his capacities, and should be free from the adventitious handicaps in health and environment which our society loads upon vast numbers of the children of the less privileged classes. The possibilities of amassing private accumulations of wealth should be so limited that the barriers between human beings based upon differences of wealth do not destroy fellowship, and that the scale of values of the community is not perverted by the pride and the envy which tend to accompany extreme inequality. The resources of the earth, such as the soil and mineral wealth, should be regarded as gifts of God and should be conserved with a recognition of the needs of future generations.

77. There is one subject on which Christian teaching on ends and principles in relation to economic life could have immediate results in actual economic decisions; that subject is property. There is here a background of Christian thought which is of great importance, though this background has not been brought into effective relationship with the development of the institutions of property under modern capitalism. This is a subject which should demand close attention from any agencies for further study which may grow out of this conference and we can merely suggest at this time a few of the directions along which Christian thought should move.

78. (i) It should be reaffirmed without ceasing that all human property rights are only relative, in virtue of the dependence of man upon God as the giver of all wealth and the creator of man's capacities to develop the resources of nature. The results of this fundamental Christian conviction should not be obscured by facile ideas of stewardship or trusteeship, which in practice are often used to sanctify any methods of acquiring property, any existing accumulations of property and any uses of property in which irresponsible power is thinly veiled by a cloak of philanthropy.

79. (ii) The existing system of property rights and the existing distribution of property must be viewed in the light of the largely non-moral processes by which they have been developed.

80. (iii) It should further be affirmed that individual property rights must never be emphasised without regard to their social consequences and without regard to the contribution of the community in the production of all wealth.

81. (iv) It is very important to make clear distinctions between the various forms of property which have been

developed in the present industrial order. The property which consists in personal possessions for use has behind it clearer moral justification than the property in the means of production which gives the owners power over other persons. This latter form of property must be judged afresh in each situation in the light of its social consequences.

82 (*b*) *The message of Christianity should throw a searchlight on the existing situation and show up clearly the human consequences of the present forms of economic behaviour.* It is this which saves statements of principles from being platitudes. The kind of survey of the factors in the economic order which create the greatest problems for the Christian conscience which we have presented in section two must be made far more concrete in terms of each national and each local situation. Moreover, it should be shown how far the human consequences which are thus emphasised can be traced to the decisions of individual Christians. Here the important task is not denunciation but the presentation of facts in such a way that they speak for themselves to the individual conscience.

83. The most obvious human consequences of existing economic behaviour are quite as much, if not more, within the province of the Church as they are within the province of the expert in the social sciences. The clergyman in the course of pastoral work has opportunities, if he is capable of using them, of knowing what the present economic situation does to the character, the morale, the true welfare of men, women, and children and to family life. The expert may have to supply statistics, but the meaning of the statistics can only be known to those who see the particular results of an economic situation in the lives of persons. Where there are secular agencies which have the facts the task of the Church is to aid in making those facts available to its members and especially to those who have a teaching function within the Church. But there are occasions on which some agency of the Church may have the task of securing the facts. This can be most helpful in controversial situations in which the Church has a position of relative independance of the parties to the controversy. When the Church embarks on this kind of research it must have the help of experts who will do a thoroughly competent job and avoid the amateurishness which is sometimes the fault of religious institutions when they deal with public questions. There is already a body of experience in research conducted by the Church which shows the great value of this kind of contribution.

84. It is not enough to catalogue specific cases of poverty and exploitation or to call attention to specific cases of selfish

and irresponsible conduct on the part of those in power. Emphasis must also be placed upon the degree to which the economic institutions of our time are in themselves infected with evil. They place narrow limits on the choices of the best men who must work within them. They encourage selfishness and callousness. They make it difficult for the individual to maintain his integrity. What theologians have called ' original sin ' we find crystallised in the economic institutions of our time which have developed for the most part without ethical criticism and without guidance from Christian faith.

85. (c) *This searchlight of the Christian message can also show up the obstacles to economic justice in the human heart, and especially those that are present in the hearts of people within the Church.* It is not enough that individual Christians should become good in their intentions or become changed in their conscious motives. What is needed is the kind of self-knowledge which will help Christians to understand how far their attitudes are moulded by the position which they hold in the economic order. Self-knowledge is no less important than knowledge of external conditions, and more important than the knowledge of the sins of others.

86. Christians must come to understand how far they really do seek, in spite of all pretensions to the contrary, a world in which they and their group are on top, how far their opinions on economic issues are controlled by the interests of the group or class to which they belong, how far they are deceived by false slogans and rationalisations, how far they are callous to ' evil at a distance ' or to evil experienced by another national or class group than their own—evil to which they may consent, for which they may vote, or by which they may profit. Here, again, the important activity is not denunciation but the helping of people to have that self-knowledge which comes from the perspective of the Christian emphasis upon sin, so that they will condemn themselves.

87. The various parts of the Church must at this point be guided in the relative emphasis they place on different forms of self-deception by the character of their constituencies. Those parts of the Church which contain chiefly the comfortable middle classes should create an atmosphere in which it is most natural for the peculiarly middle class illusions to be punctured. There is, for example, in those classes a tendency to take the present property system for granted and to regard as unjust changes which alter the present distribution of property or the present rights of owners. The kind of Christian teaching about property which

is outlined in paragraphs 78-81, is at this stage of special importance for these classes.

88. These classes must also come to see how one-sided those conceptions of Christianity are which assume that because Christianity is a spiritual religion economic conditions do not greatly matter or that it is enough to leave it to the grace of God to save souls in all varieties of external circumstances. Justice may at this stage be embodied in the distribution of bread but for that reason the quest for justice is not less spiritual. Moreover it is unseemly for people to be complacent in the face of the obstacles to the personal development of others, obstacles which they have not experienced. To be complacent in this way because of a religious belief concerning the soul or God is to turn religion into an opiate for the conscience.

89. Also it is important in some countries that Christians in the comfortable middle classes be helped to realise that they are controlled by class interests quite as much as the workers or farmers and that in some countries where organisations of workers and farmers are not far advanced they are even more controlled by class interests than those other groups. The assumption that the interests of the middle classes are identical with the interests of the community is an illusion which unconsciously blinds many of the most sincere Christians and makes them unfair and self-righteous in their attitudes towards those classes which at present are the victims of the economic order.

90. At the proper time and in the proper place the teaching of the Church should also create an atmosphere in which the illusions of the working classes and other groups can readily be punctured. It is also an illusion, for example, to suppose that the interests of the industrial workers are identical with those of the community. The important point is that each class in the most effective ways possible should be brought under the criticism which is implicit in Christian faith. At present in relationships between classes we tend to see only the mote in our brother's eye.

91. Both the showing up of the objective facts about the present situation in the light of Christian standards and the bringing of people to self-knowledge are necessary conditions for Christian repentance. Repentance which does not include these economic relationships is tragically one-sided. The Church should be able to bring about these conditions of repentance because it has a conception of human nature at the heart of its

Gospel which should make men naturally suspicious of their own motives, and which should thus lead them to put a strong burden of proof on all the social decisions to which they are led, especially when the decisions coincide with their own economic advantages. In some cases it can also be said that the Church (and this would mean especially the clergy) has some degree of detachment from the immediate pressure of the interests of economic groups and should be able to see the world from the point of view of more than one group. That this is true at present to only a small degree is itself one of the most tragic and sinful factors in the life of the Church.

92. If only Christians are brought to repentance in the light of the Christian message, they can hardly maintain the attitude of fanatical hatred of those in other groups which is now so common in the world. They and their opponents are both sinners in the presence of God, and a recognition of this fact in social as well as in personal terms would itself be a great constructive contribution towards moderating the bitterness of the struggle between social groups which is now so widespread in the world.

93. (*d*) *In the light of Christian faith and especially in view of the working of God in history which is revealed, for example, in the teaching of the Old Testament prophets, Christians should have eyes to see the signs of the times, and particularly to perceive how in the events of contemporary history men reap what they sow and the wages of sin are death.* The rising of those who have been the victims of economic injustice between classes or between nations is one form of the nemesis which in the justice of God eventually overtakes those who in pride and selfishness exploit their fellows. The recognition of this fact need not lead to approval of any particular programme or policy of those who are thus the instruments of punishment, but the attitude of Christians towards the events of our time should be profoundly influenced by this kind of interpretation of their meaning.

94. (*e*) *Emphasis must be laid, finally, upon the responsibility of Christians to take part as citizens in specific social movements, to experiment with specific programmes and technical means wherever they have responsibility.* Christians whose attitudes have been moulded in the four ways already suggested will bring a distinctive point of view to any movement in which they take part. There can be no one Christian programme or party, but Christians must make social and political decisions in obedience to God's will for them. There may well be movements and programmes which on Christian ground can be condemned

and which Christians who are not self-deceived must definitely reject; but there can be no doubt that there remains room enough for honest differences of judgment among Christians who are equally sincere and open to the truth.

95. We wish to point out the great danger in allowing Christianity or the Church to become identified with any one solution of the economic problem or any one social order. The temptation is for Christians who are also enthusiasts and in some cases rightly enthusiasts for a particular programme to assume that it is *the Christian programme* and that the social order which it would bring into existence would be *a Christian social order*. It is important at all costs to avoid this kind of identification of Christianity with any particular social order. Such identification involves a failure to recognise the sin which threatens *every* social order; it destroys the tension which should keep every social order under judgment, and therefore capable of further growth and correction; it encourages self-righteousness in relation to other Christians whose judgment on social policy is different; it invites disillusionment among those who entertain such hopes for a Christian society and it discredits Christian truth together with the errors which appear in the programme with which it is identified. Even if a society were to consist entirely of professing Christians evils enough would develop to keep it from being a Christian society and if it made the claim to be Christian those evils would be compounded by hypocrisy. As a matter of fact every society of which we can conceive will be a mixed society in which large sections of the population do not share the Christian understanding of life.

96. But it should be said that this refusal to identify any social order with Christianity should not lead to the assumption that all possible social orders are equally bad and that therefore it is enough to preserve the *status quo*. To come to that conclusion is a subtle temptation for those who happen to be beneficiaries of conditions as they are. Under obedience to God's will as they understand it, with minds and consciences illuminated by the Christian message in ways which have been here suggested, individual Christians and groups of Christians must support programmes for social change which give promise of a relatively better order, an order which does not deny to so large a proportion of the human race the opportunities for living a developed human life, an order which does not threaten to destroy itself through international and inter-class war.

97. We find that those of us who subscribe to this report represent, in connection with specific programmes, several tendencies. Some of us believe that through the gradual

reform of the capitalistic system it is still possible to develop a more just and stable economic order. Others of us believe that a fundamental attack upon the private ownership of the means of production and the substitution of social ownership as the basis for social planning of economic life in the interests of the community is the line along which we should work. Still others regard that difference between capitalism and socialism as in some degree unreal, as they believe that we have already discovered the possibility in some countries of a mixed system to which it would be difficult to apply the label capitalist or socialist.

98. Two other emphases must here be mentioned as characteristic of certain members of this section. One is the belief that the key to the solution of the economic problem is to be found in monetary reforms; the other is the belief that the most promising development in economic life is the growth of consumers' co-operatives.

99. In so far as Christians hold mutually exclusive positions, especially in regard to a socialistic organisation of society, we believe that in some ways they correct each other. It is useful to have those who see most clearly the kind of evils which might develop in a socialistic society as well as those who see most clearly the evils in the existing situation. The only two positions which seem positively evil and destructive are the selfish preservation of exclusive privilege on the one hand, and unteachable and self-righteous fanaticism on the other.

100. We believe that these five lines of Christian teaching indicate the kind of guidance which those who interpret the Christian faith can give to the whole Christian community. Each element, of course, needs to be made concrete and specific in terms of varying national and local situations.

CONCLUSION

101. Those who have responsibility for the teaching and policies of the Christian Church as they face the challenge of the present economic order must begin with repentance for the sin of the Church. The Church, as part of the world, shares in responsibility for all the evil consequences of the economic order. Further, it has failed in its special duty as a Church in relation to that order through one-sided interpretations of the Gospel which have given to Christians an excuse for

complacency; through too close alliance with the more privileged section of each national community; through disunion; through preoccupation with many lesser tasks; through failure on the part of its members to live the life of unselfishness, compassion, and courage which their profession demands. Faithlessness on the part of the Church is partly responsible for the alienation from the Christian Gospel of large masses of people who struggle for economic justice. In profound humility, with faith in God's mercy and confidence in the possibility of amendment by God's grace, the Church and all its members must repent.

102. As one proof of its genuine desire to amend, the Church must set its own house in order and test all parts of its own organisation, especially in so far as it is an owner of property and employer of labour, by the same standard as that by which it believes other institutions should be judged.

103. In the next decade those who are responsible for guiding the life of the Church must seek, whether in ways suggested in the fourth section of this report or otherwise, to bring under moral control the attitudes of men in their economic relationships, just as they have always sought to bring the attitudes of men under moral control in their direct personal relationships. The greater difficulty of the former task so far from being a reason for evading it, is rather a reason for emphasising that task. The economic activities of men represent the area where at the present time human sin is socially most destructive. Economic conditions block or pervert the development of countless persons. It is in relation to economic activities that the sincerity of those who profess to be Christians and the relevance to human life of their Christian faith are most certain, at the present juncture, to be tested. Indeed Jesus Himself seems to have tested the reality of men's devotion to God by reference to their attitude towards common human need. Continued failure at this point will make the Church seem to be irrelevant to life as it actually has to be lived and to the most difficult decisions which men in the contemporary world are called upon to make.

104. If this task of subordinating economic life to the will of God is to be attempted it will be necessary to have the co-operation of all the educational agencies of the Church. The emphasis upon Christian obedience in economic life must become an integral part of the training of children and young people; it must influence the theological training of the clergy; it must lead to the development of agencies for study and research within the Church; it must lead to the discovery of

methods in the local Church and in the larger units of the Church by which both the clergy and the laity can work together on specific economic issues in the light of the Christian message.

105. Finally, to sum up what is most important, there is one aspect of the Gospel which the Church must strive in season and out of season to bring vividly before every one of its individual members.

106. It must continually insist on the Christian's duty to test not only every part of his own economic activity, but also every economic and political institution in the society of which he is a member, in the light of his understanding of God's Will. He must try to discover evil and when he thinks he has discovered it, fight it unceasingly. Especially must he try to discover evil in his own soul and in order to do this he must understand the self-deceptions by which he hides that evil from himself. In this fight he must be prepared to sacrifice *all* his own privileges, property and power. But even that is not enough: he must also be prepared to take sides and participate in political action; for he must be realistic enough to recognise that often the deliverance of his fellow men from the evil of injustice cannot be accomplished without some form of coercion. Whatever group or party he joins, he must take every opportunity of " leavening the lump " with the Christian leaven; he must strive, by God's Grace, to be " in the world but not of the world "; nothing must be allowed to prevent him from loving his neighbour as himself and in particular the neighbour who opposes him in the course of his political and economic activities.

107. The Church, in brief, must urge its members to give continuous and courageous expression to their understanding of the Christian way of life in two particular ways. On the one hand, as individuals, they have innumerable opportunities of sweetening life, by compassion and self-sacrifice and readiness to forgive, in all the personal relationships in which they find themselves within the existing economic and political situation (in the family; among those with whom they work; between employers and employees; with casual acquaintances, such as the one with whom the Good Samaritan fell in). On the other hand, as members of various groups (political parties, trade unions, employers' organisations, etc.), they have a particular responsibility to make whatever contribution they can towards the improvement, and if necessary the revolutionising, of the present economic and political system. In this part of their Christian duty, the same characteristics are called for, though in a different form: readiness to make sacrifices, to take effective action, and always to forgive those that trespass against them and to love those that seem to be their enemies.